1: Nadel E-5 (1934-1936) 1942
FF52 Nupe FF52

achieved in one context of social life to other social contexts.[1] Our data allow us to make the following observation on this point: co-operation and solidarity fashioned in the age-grades appear capable of being transferred to other social contexts because of two conditions which they satisfy. Co-operation and solidarity are not left to grow at random and, as it were, unconsciously; rather they are of a specific, *ad hoc*, type; they clearly formulate their purpose and operate in the sphere of distinct awareness. Moreover, age-grade co-operation is actuated in circumstances of psychologically impressive nature, i.e. in the context of religious experiences. But age-grade integration also admits its own limitation in that it avoids attempting to bridge over the deepest existing social gulfs, of local community and social class.

The second aspect of the preparation embodied in the age-grade system is the training of the adolescent, through discipline and certain concrete activities, in the tasks and duties which await him in adult life, and in the values and incentives which he will have to make his own. In the village this preparation represents a first step towards a final social career; in Bida it mostly implants in the mind of the adolescent values and incentives, as it were, *in abstracto*, without promising equally their fulfilment in later life. It teaches people who will never share in directing the fate of their country to appreciate, and make their own, the motives and values which govern the conduct of those who do. It imparts, if not claims to responsible citizenship, yet its spirit.

THE MEANING OF NUPE LIFE

If we compare Nupe religious teaching with the teaching implied in the age-grade system we find that the two educational institutions supplement each other in many respects and that, between them, they take in the whole field of 'education for citizenship'. The Mallam school offers promotion to one social plane; the age-grade association practises promotion in the framework of a complex scale of steps and grades. The promotion afforded by religious education is 'real', in the sense that it involves social privileges in adult life; that practised in the age-grades is fictitious, even vicarious, and concerns mental readiness rather than concrete achievements. Religious education, finally, creates a loosely organized professional group and at the same time fosters a much wider psychological unity, which embraces the whole of Nupe society, across tribal and class boundaries. The age-grades create an intensive solidarity, but only in a very narrow framework, and give tribal and class boundaries a wide berth. Common to both religious education and the age-grades is the social upward trend, the motive of rise and promotion. This upward trend appears indeed as the paramount motive in Nupe cultural life. If it is possible to reduce a whole culture to a single formula, to a fundamental unitary *ethos*, we find it in this *leitmotif* of

[1] Cf. F. C. Bartlett, in *The Study of Society*, 1939, p. 43: 'A specially interesting question is: if cooperation is established in one respect, when and how far does this help individual members of the groups concerned to cooperate in other respects?'

1: Nadel E-5 (1934-1936) 1942
FF52 Nupe FF52

Nupe education. No aspect of culture affords closer access to the paramount cultural motives and values. For education not only teaches openly the specific aims and conceptions of life accepted by the society, but reveals them also indirectly, in the motives and conceptions which it utilizes to call forth the desired response.

Is, then, the reverse equally true? is behaviour that does not conform to this conception of life met with public disapproval? One might indeed ask if Nupe culture did not reserve some legitimate place within its framework for individuals to whom its dominant trend was uncongenial, and who represent what some anthropologists have called 'deviants' from the type of personality which the society regards as so highly desirable.[1] I must admit that I have found no conspicuous instances of such 'deviant' types. But we can guess the public response towards such social or cultural 'failures' from certain occasional incidents: for an attitude that belies the upward trend, and this dynamic aspect of self-advancement, is indeed regarded as a 'failure'; such individuals would be dismissed by the people with a mental shrug—'*u de kokari à*', 'he makes no effort'. As the Nupe state undertakes to govern the moral life of the people and to co-ordinate rigidly their conceptions of right and wrong, so its education attempts a complete unification of types of personality.

Yet successful suppression in normal life may only mean that the 'deviant' type is forced into abnormality and will reveal itself in psycho-pathological cases. I have admitted in the first chapter the scantiness of data concerning mental disorders among the Nupe. But so far as they exist they seem to bear out the view that mental disorders in Nupe are largely symptoms of the failure of individuals to adjust themselves to the demands of the social environment. I have mentioned that the large majority of psycho-pathological cases that came to my notice presented the clinical picture of paranoid schizophrenia, with marked delusions and persecution-mania. Now modern psychiatry has shown that schizophrenia is essentially the result of inadequacy to a social environment. Indeed, in the few cases which I could examine more closely features of the social environment conspicuously entered the clinical picture. One man was under the delusion that he had been persecuted by a person of very high rank and robbed, through his intrigues, of his home and family; another maintained that intrigues against him at the court had cost him his land; a third case was that of an old man who was under the delusion that his younger brother (whom he admitted to be the more clever and successful of the two) was out to kill him. In creating these very specific delusions the psycho-pathological individual escapes from the consciousness of his own inadequacy. Though distorted and purely negative, the fears and anxieties which make up the delusion are the same fears and anxieties that accompany the successful mental adjustment to the *ethos* of Nupe life—the anxiety to 'get on' in the world, not to be left behind in the race for rank and position or the fear to lose the support of the 'powers that be', on whose influence one's career and safety depend. The border-line between normality and abnormality is that between

[1] Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture*, and Margaret Mead, *Sex and Temperament*.

1: Nadel E-5 (1934-1936) 1942
FF52 Nupe FF52

anxiety and unceasing efforts to master reality or, conversely, the open admission of inability to live up to the exigent standards of the social *ethos*, and that complete withdrawal from reality and surrender to subjective emotional and thought-life which we classify as pathological.

Have we, as sociologists, to leave off here, and to regard the *leitmotif* of Nupe culture as an ultimate, irreducible, fact—as would be the view of certain modern schools of anthropology—or can we hope to trace it farther, and to correlate it, as we could most cultural traits, with other, more fundamental, social facts?

Not having examined in this book the whole field of culture, we can only venture on a tentative answer. But I believe that such a correlation is possible. The upward trend in social life is entailed in the class structure of the Nupe state; in the existence of a social *élite* which must both renew and widen its ranks by admission of selected groups from outside its sphere, and build its strength on a population whose motives and ways of thought are in conformity with its own aims. The particular form which the upward trend takes, that complex social ladder of many steps and grades, is part of the 'admission of selected groups'; it is explained by the necessity of controlling and canalizing the upward trend, lest it should endanger the position of the ruling group itself. The *ethos* of Nupe society does thus not represent a unique, irrational, and, as it were, autonomous cultural trend, but the product of an interdependence of phenomena which is open to rational interpretation. Behind it we perceive the public approval of forms of behaviour which are essential to the integrity of the class-organized state.

In reducing the *ethos* of Nupe culture to necessities involved in the social structure we have not merely reduced one unknown quantity to another. The class-state built upon, and expanding by, conquest is not a unique phenomenon, but a typical and regular occurrence in the history of society which we have learned to correlate with specific environmental and historical happenings. These themselves fall outside our range of vision: the environmental factors which made the river Niger the hotbed of powerful military states; environmental changes which have most probably started the tribal movements resulting eventually in conquests and the formation of states with an alien ruling class; political developments in the north of Nigeria which resulted in the Fulani conquests of the central kingdoms; or the historical changes in civilization which gradually led up to greater political concentration and the evolution of centralized states. I do not mean to defend an absolute determinism of this kind. I will not deny that Nupe culture may have added specific features of its own to this general development; it may well be that certain autonomous psychological determinants, not entailed in these external conditions, have played an important part in moulding the structure of the Nupe state and the psychological traits and motives which it has made its own. I have worked out elsewhere the principle of 'alternative solutions' of which a cultural adjustment to environmental and historical demands may admit.[1] In these alternative solutions we

[1] 'The Typological Approach to Culture', *Character and Personality*, v, No. 4, The Duke University Press, 1937.

1: Nadel E-5 (1934-1936) 1942
FF52 Nupe FF52

181 discover the effectiveness of such autonomous psychological tendencies. The specific *ethos* of Nupe culture may indeed embody such an 'alternative solution'. But the extent to which this is true, the extent to which the autonomous psychological forces limit or qualify the effectiveness of historical and environmental factors (which we must regard as sufficient to explain the evolution of the social structure as such), can only be ascertained on the basis of comparative studies of similar, class-organized, societies. This is, once more, outside the scope of the present investigation.

APPENDIX I

BIBLIOGRAPHY

113 THE following list comprises the works of early travellers and writers on Nigeria and Nupe, arranged in chronological order, some of whose data were invaluable for the historical descriptions and reconstructions of this book.

IBN BATUTA (1353), describing the various countries on the Niger (which he knew as the Nile), mentions one called *Youfi* or *Noufi*, south of Mouli (Muri?), as 'one of the most important countries of the Sudan', and its 'sovereign as one of the greatest kings of the area'. 'No white man [Arab?] enters *Youfi*, for the negroes there would kill him as soon as he arrived.' These remarks have been interpreted by some authors as referring to Nupe, or Nouffie as it was called by certain early travellers. But it is very doubtful whether this can be true. Ibn Batuta gives the same name *Noufi* also to a certain tribe in East Africa, some 'six weeks' march' from the sea. Moreover, *Leo Africanus* (1520) makes no mention of Nupe.

Commander CLAPPERTON, *Second Expedition into the Interior of Africa*, 1829.

RICHARD and JOHN LANDER, *Journal of an Expedition to explore the Course and Termination of the Niger*, 1832.

MACGREGOR LAIRD and A. K. R. OLDFIELD, *Narrative of an Expedition into the Interior of Africa*, 1837.

Rev. J. F. SCHOEN and SAMUEL CROWTHER, *Journals of an Expedition up the Niger*, 1842.

HENRY BARTH, *Travels in North and Central Africa*, vols. ii and v, 1849–50.

A. C. G. HASTINGS, *The Voyage of the Dayspring*, 1857.

Dr. W. B. BAIKIE, R.N., *Notes on a Journey from Bida in Nupe to Kano in Haussa*, 1862. Journal Royal Geographical Society, 1867.

A. F. MOCKLER-FERRYMAN, *Up the Niger*, 1892.

Canon C. G. ROBINSON, *Nigeria, our latest Protectorate*, 1900.

Lady LUGARD, *A Tropical Dependency*, 1906.

2: Nadel E-5 (1934-1936) 1954
FF52 Nupe FF52

abandoned excitement of one or the other of the three ceremonials *gunnu*, *gani* and *navũ*. This break in the 'ethos' of Nupe religion carries its own explanation; for it is understood as a licence, setting aside normally valid and precisely named controls—of sex and of physical violence against political opponents. Here, then, impulses repressed in secular life are compensated, and tensions generated through the repression, offered explosive, or 'cathartic', release. Religion, in providing these outlets (on circumscribed occasions), anticipates as well as canalizes the working of psychological mechanisms, which might otherwise operate in random fashion or beyond the control of the society, in the 'private worlds' of neuroses and psychopathic fantasies.[1]

Probably no society is free from some such repressions. In Nupe, they are clearly traceable. The 'ethos' of Nupe life is again generally calm and restrained; but in some measure it is only meant to appear so. That it also conceals deep anxieties and tensions is shown by the witchcraft fantasies, which belie the acquiescence so often typical of the overt relationship between the sexes. And in one sphere of social life, in political ambition, passions and anxieties come to the surface. Consider, however, that this intense political rivalry is itself an instance of 'constraint', imposed as it is by the rigid class society. Indeed, it is doubly 'constrained'; for the passions here aroused are not permitted free play, as they might in some kind of jungle ethics, but are hemmed in by an intricate code of etiquette imposing semblance of gentility and acquiescence. We must conclude, then, that the uneven mood of Nupe religion indicates an 'ethos' kept calm and unexcited through those circumscribed chances of unrestraint. In other words, while certain facts of worship express the calmness meant to govern mundane life, others make it possible, through absorbing its disturbances into their own explosive mood. As we know, the balance is imperfect; there are the sudden outbursts of political passion when pent-up tensions find 'random' relief, as well as escapes into neurosis. Let us note a further point. One familiar 'compensation', in the form of fantasies about a golden age or a promised millennium, is entirely absent in Nupe religion. The Nupe attempt to resolve the 'uneasiness' of reality not in ideological fashion but, as I put it before, by the 'sheer dynamics' of repressions lifted and emotional tensions relieved.

Here we are already touching upon the fusion of 'assurance' and 'stimulation'. It occurs, briefly, when 'living through' the acts of worship leaves some lasting effect upon the individual's attitude towards the world around him: the cathartic relief of the few hectic rituals implies precisely this. Yet the effect is diffuse and in

[1] See my *Foundations*, p. 356.

CULTURAL FEATURES AND THE LIFE CYCLE

Physical Characteristics: Tribal Marks: Dress

142 While the aboriginal Nupe sub-tribes (Ebe, Beni, Ebagi, and Bataci) are negro in appearance, there are indications of considerable non-negro elements in their ancestry. A striking type with oval face, high cheekbones, and slightly mongoloid eyes is often found among those of mixed Fulani descent.

181 The Nupe are known all over Nigeria as an industrious and formerly warlike people. They are progressive and anxious to try new methods, e.g., in agriculture. The women are keen and successful traders.

634 There are no facial marks common to the Nupe people as a whole, but sub-
304 tribes are distinguished to some extent. Many sub-tribes have to-day adopted "Bida" marks in addition to their own.

291 Commoners wear a loincloth, with a blue cloth thrown over the shoulder and
565 the blue phrygian cap, said to be the traditional headgear of the Nupe. Nobles and other well-to-do men wear trousers and a flowing white robe and turban.[1]

Birth

843 The rituals surrounding childbirth begin at the time of conception and culminate in the naming ceremony. As soon as the pregnancy becomes noticeable (generally in the third to the fifth month) the parents must discontinue sexual relations and the mother must avoid places inhabited by spirits and abstain from eating certain foods which are thought to have a harmful effect on the unborn child. Special rules or avoidances may be prescribed by the diviner whom the father will consult immedi-
844 ately, and again at the beginning of the confinement and before the naming ceremony. The father keeps away during the actual birth, his elder sister, mother, or other kinswoman assisting the mother, and his father or father's brother cutting the
851 umbilical cord and disposing of the afterbirth, which is buried outside the hut. Thereafter the child's paternal grandfather plays a more important part than the father, announcing the birth of his grandchild and receiving congratulations.

553 The naming ceremony (*suna*) usually takes place eight days after the birth.
852 It is traditionally preceded, on the seventh day, by a libation of beer to the ancestor thought to be reborn in the child. The name used always to be announced by the child's grandfather before a group of relatives, without any particular ceremonial. To-day, however, with the spread of Islam, the announcement is usually made by a mallam. It is at this time also that the child's hair is cut and the tribal marks scratched on the cheeks and forehead.[2]

845 Twins are generally welcomed, but infants born with teeth are regarded as a bad omen.[3]

Circumcision

304 Circumcision (*zuŋ'ba*) is universal, but it does not appear to be regarded as one of the more important rituals. It is performed on boys individually between the ages of 8 and 11, whenever the father thinks fit, by a barber, who is usually paid sixpence or a shilling. Women must be away from the house when it is done, otherwise there is no ceremonial.[4]

No corresponding ceremony is reported for girls.

[1] Nadel, op cit., pp. 25, 237, 362, 405–6 (sketches of tribal marks); Meek, I, 1925, pp. 28–9; Line, 1947.
[2] Nadel, 1954a, pp. 115–18.
[3] Nadel, personal communication; Malam Aliyu Bida, Ms. Notes.
[4] Nadel, op cit., p. 118.

41:Nadel P,E-5 (1934-1936) 1937
FF62 Yoruba FF62
Nupe FF52

beliefs revolve round abstract, impersonal magical principles, proves psychologically of a very different type. It is more detached and inconsequent in observation and memory, enumerative, more sensitive to spatial and temporal arrangement, and stresses unity of situation and emotional tone rather than facts of meaning and rational consistency. The nature of this psychological differentiation clearly indicates that the experiments have done more than merely shown that a diversity in culture is accompanied by psychological differentiation; they prove the existence of an essential *correspondence* between the specific organization of the culture and the traits and dispositions which characterize the psychological make-up or 'type' of the group. Some aspects of this correspondence are quite evident and easily explained in terms of mutual interaction of culture data and psychological traits: for instance, the correspondence between the rationalized religious system of the Yoruba and their intentness on rational connexions and interpretations; or the correspondence between the ornamental, decorative art of the Nupe and their emphasis of spatial and symmetrical order. The nature of other aspects of this correspondence is less obvious, and can be interpreted only in the context of a detailed analysis of the whole culture: for instance, the correspondence between the impersonal, abstract religious system of the Nupe and their schematic, unspecific attitude to moral judgements.

The fact that we are dealing here with two groups which we had to contrast in various ways, may give the impression that I am attempting a dualistic theory of memory or perception, or for that matter, of culture. This is not my intention. Rather, the psychological traits and characteristics which the foregoing analysis has disclosed, seem to integrate themselves into *three* different 'types'—types which are distributed in different proportion among the two groups: first, the dominant type of the Yoruba, rational, logical and intent on meaning-oriented interpretation; second, the dominant type among the Nupe, combining an enumerative approach to observational data with stress on spatial and temporal arrangement; third, a less prominent, secondary, type among the Nupe, characterized by an emotional and 'impressionistic' disposition. Evidently, for a fuller understanding of these psychological types, the investigation must be placed on a broader basis, and our correlations of psychological traits extended over other fields of psychological reaction. But such an extension would go beyond the scope of this paper, in which I could only attempt to outline the general trend of this correspondence between psychological and cultural differentiation.

41:Nadel P,E-5 (1934-1936) 1937
FF62 Yoruba FF62
Nupe FF52

VII. SUMMARY

1. The aim of this investigation was to study, by means of the psychological field experiment, the correlation between diversity of culture and psychological differentiation.

2. Two primitive groups were studied, two tribes in Northern Nigeria which, living under similar conditions, yet show marked differences in their culture.

3. The experiments were carried out with school boys of the age of 15–18. The selection of the subjects, however, insured that the experimental groups were representative of the culture at large.

4. The experiments examined the repeated reproduction of a narrative, and the description and remembering of a number of pictures. Both the narrative and the pictures represented a material with which the experimental subjects were thoroughly familiar.

5. The results show a marked difference in the responses of the two groups. In the story experiment one tribe laid stress on logical and rational elements while the other showed distinct appreciation of situational facts and connexions of time and place. In the picture experiment the response of the first group was meaning-oriented, the response of the second enumerative and appreciative of spatial arrangement.

6. Between the cultural differentiation and the psychological differentiation there exists close correspondence. The dualism of culture and psychological responses is incidental; the investigation reveals in fact three different psychological 'types' distributed in different proportion among the two groups.

REFERENCES

(1) PORTEUS, SY D. (1931). *The Psychology of a Primitive People.* London, E. Arnold.
(2) GARTH, T. R. (1931). *Race Psychology.* New York, McGraw Hill.
(3) BARTLETT, F. C. (1932). *Remembering.* Cambridge University Press.
(4) NADEL, S. F. (1937). "The typological approach to culture." *Character and Pers.* v, 282.
(5) —— (1937). *Africa,* x, No. 4.